5: Reyes and Teran--107 (No date) 1939 Jivaro
116, 135, 487, 177

"The scarcity and rudimentary state of communication routes has obliged people living in the Ecuadorian Oriente to seek their economic well-being largely through mining rather than through agriculture, in spite of the fertility of these lands. And among the minerals, it is the exploitation of gold which today mainly concerns those [GCB: white men] who venture into these regions. Gold also is the concern of a large number of natives whose labor is exploited by the whites."

5: Reyes and Teran--127-130 (No date) 1939 Jivaro-1
116, 487

"All the routes of penetration into the Oriente are projects which are very far from realization. The lack of roads has been the underlying reason why the dominion of these vast regions by Ecuador has so far been only an ardent and unfulfilled desire. As yet neither the railroad nor the auto road has penetrated the forest. Only at intervals are there more or less improvable horse trails [caminos de herradura] and the rest are only difficult and arduous footpaths, which search for the liberating river--the sole route which permits the crossing of these infinite distances.

The routes of penetration used with some frequency in the Oriente are the following:

[128] 1. Leaving from Tulcán, the route of the Pun river, on the Ecuador-Colombia frontier, which, passing along the banks of the Chingual river, leads to La Fama, Sebundoy, El Cesáreo and ends at Valbuena. Some day it will perhaps reach as far as Santa Rosa de Sucumbíos and from there to the Putumayo.

2. Leaving from Quito, the route of the Papallacta, which leads to Baeza and then, surmounting the Cordillera of Guacamayos, takes the traveler to Archidona, Tena and Puerto Napo.

3. Leaving from Ambato, the route of the Banos river, which leads to Mera, Puyo and Canelos. From Mera, following the current of the Anzu toward the north, one can, by this route, penetrate as far as Puerto Napo. In the same way, one can advance to the south from the Puyo river as far as Macas, going by way of Arapicos. [129]

4. Leaving from Riobamba, the route of Chanala and Zuna, which leads to Puerto Proano, Macas, Sucúa and Méndez. The crossing of the Andean cordillera in this region is painful and arduous.

5. Leaving from Cuenca, the route of the Paute and Pan rivers, which leads to Méndez. This is the best horse trail of all those mentioned, although they have not been able to improve the way through the gorge of the Paute.

6. From the same town of Cuenca, one can leave by two other routes, that of the Gualaceo to Indaánza, and that of the Sígsig which leads to Gualaquiza, across the páramos [GCB: high, cold regions] of Matanga.

7. Leaving from Loja, the route of the Zamora river, which leads to the settlement of this name as well as to those of Chito and Zumba, the most distant Ecuadorian outposts in the southern Oriente. [130] In addition to the above enumerated routes, there are other projects of penetration, especially in the direction of the Napo, such as those which would lead to Cayambe and Latacunga. Each of these settlements believes it has the best route into these various regions. On the Azuay river, as well, they speak of a route along the Paute which will lead the traveler more rapidly to the distant lands of the Oriente!

The railroad projects, including that of the Curaray, have been left abandoned. Even Ambato no longer dreams of it. Today this town is satisfied with the auto road which is

steadily advancing toward Mera and Puyo.

The trans-Amazon highway leaving from Puerto Bolivar on the Pacific and passing by way of Loja and Zamora to the Maranon river has gone up in smoke like an unrealizable desire."

/329 cont./

491 dangerous. Farther down, however, the rivers had to be waded, for the Jesuits, in order to make access to their mission more difficult, had pulled down the bridges formerly present and had taken the canoes used for ferrying into Mácas into their own custody.

000 Mácas, 1,051 meters above sea level, with an average annual temperature of 20.8°C., is located on a small plateau in the midst of the forest; a large, quadrangular area, the plaza, has been cleared of trees. The church, built of tall, column-like palm trunks, the convento, i.e., the dwelling of the priests, and the school lie on one side; the other three sides are bounded by forest. The place has about 300 inhabitants, counting women and children, but extends over a large area, since the houses lie scattered individually in the forest, often quite far from one another. The inhabitants of Mácas, as well as those of Paira and Suñag, are Quechua Indians, that is, they speak the Quechua language, /330/ are Christians in name, and live under the control of the clerical or secular officials of the republic of Ecuador, whose despotism and oppression they do not resist at all. Jesuit rule at the time of my visit was unlimited: corporal punishment was meted out for the slightest transgression; every word that did not breathe the deepest servility and reverence was mercilessly punished, and every denunciation of such a transgression received most obligingly. Trade and agriculture languished; contact with the civilized part of the country had been cut off, and even intercourse with the neighboring wild

186 Indians was strictly forbidden. This small community lived
797 in deep resentment under their priestly tyrant; the Jívaros, however, looked upon the inhabitants with disdain for putting up with such unworthy treatment and scornfully rejected every attempt to convert them to the Christian religion.

361 As has already been mentioned, Mácas lies deep in the territory of the Jívaros. Everywhere in the forest, indeed hardly a quarter of an hour away from Mácas, lie their large tambos.

• [487] Narrow paths lead through the dense forest, and, following them, one quite suddenly and without any previous signs of civilization comes upon the open plaza surrounding the house. Each house

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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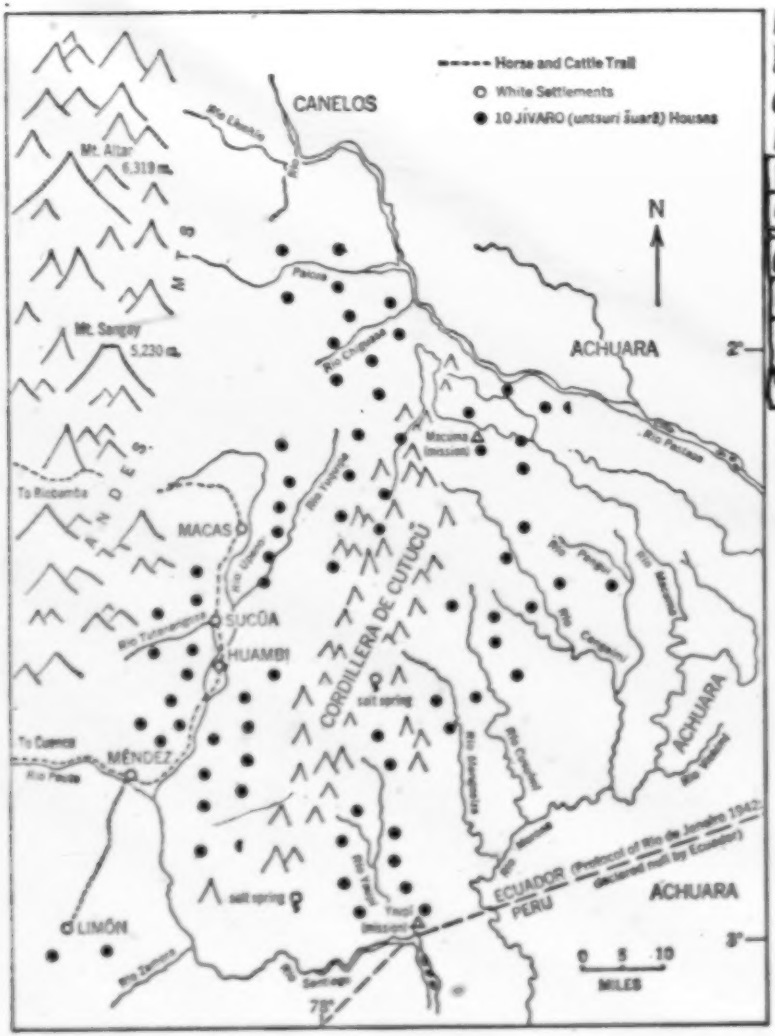

MAP 2

Distribution of the Jívaro, or *untsuri šuarə̄*, north of the Río Zamora in 1956–57

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

came down in large numbers to try their luck at gold mining. Unlike their sixteenth-century predecessors, they did not usually attempt to coerce the Jívaro as conquerors, but came as individual prospector-miners. The fact that the Jívaro were fairly well equipped with firearms by this time,[23] probably contributed to this situation. When conflicts with the Jívaro occurred, they were usually settled, one way or another, directly by the individuals involved.

The gold rush reached its peak in 1937, at which time the boom town of Méndez seems to have approached a population of about three thousand—far above that of Macas. Shortly, however, a decline in mining profits took place, and many of the white prospector-miners returned to the highlands. Others remained to settle permanently in the Upano, Paute, and Zamora valleys.

During these gold rush years, the first horse trail had been built into the Jívaro region, connecting the highland province of Azuay with Méndez, and after the boom was over, the trail was kept open by the Salesian missionaries. Gradually, Azuay mestizos, some of them ex-miners, began to immigrate into the region with their families to raise cattle, which they could then drive out over the trail to the city of Cuenca to obtain cash. The local Jívaro at first generally welcomed the settlers as a new source of factory-manufactured goods, particularly machetes and muzzle-loading shotguns, which they received for clearing the forest to make pastures for the colonists' cattle.

Cattle raising proved successful, and soon more colonists arrived. As their numbers increased and they were augmented by military and police units, their fear of the Jívaro diminished, and they began seizing the Indians' garden clearings for pastures. The Jívaro say that over half of their Upano Valley population also died at this time of epidemics of contagious